THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

companions who came down with us to Kashmir to observe peasants ploughing with *oxen* (whose wants could be less completely met) and without a dung dish ! 243 262

When the corn is fully threshed, the winnowing begins in cooperation with a light breeze. Next the winnowed grain is passed through a coarse sieve (barakbèsh) whose mesh is composed of thin leather thongs which retain any particles of straw, and it is finally tossed in a finer sieve (gherbèl) which retains the grain and lets the dust through. The grain is then loaded into great skin-sacks and carried off to store. The due amount required for seed-grain is set aside first, and not the utmost extremity of hunger would induce a Hunza peasant to encroach thereon. Next, emergencies are budgeted for—births, weddings, dues such as rent (if any) and hospitality, which includes deaths in *other* homes, for relatives and friends would be disgraced if a bereaved family had themselves to bake during the first seven days of mourning. What then remains, represents the year's supply. 243 261 251

Ripe millet is treated by being beheaded, and the ears may then be threshed by cows or beaten with poles according to quantity. The buckwheats are beaten only, even small children merrily cooperating half in fun, half in earnest to show their prowess. 248

Grain for current use is carried to the mill in sacks or bags of skin. The mill-house is a picturesque cube of stone and mud situated beside a convenient irrigation channel. It may possess one wheel or two. The wheel is a vertical oblong of tree trunk, fitted with 10 or 12 wooden wings ; the lower end of its axis is supported on a horizontal pole, the upper fitted into a central hole in the upper millstone. The water is led on to it by a steeply sloping hollowed log. The inside of the mill, lighted only from the door, is fitted with a cross rafter built into the walls on to which the hopper is ingeniously hung by a forked segment of tree. The hopper itself consists of a section of log, tapered and hollowed out. Attached by a string to the small tray below the aperture in the base of the hopper, is a loose clapper which is gently agitated by the rotation of the upper millstone on which it rests, this shakes the tray and encourages a steady flow of grain. The flour as ground is ejected into a hollow trough. Near by, a wooden pole, impaled on a horizontal wooden pin, projects up through the earthen floor. Each end of the pin rests on a 'Heath-Robinson' pile of stones and a simple adjustment of its height regulates the position of the lower millstone and thus the coarseness or fineness of the flour desired. The mill, the loom and the comparatively new-fangled lathe are the only [343] 402

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

402 'machines' known in Hunza, and the mechanism of all three is so simple that parts can be replaced, repairs or adjustments effected, by any intelligent child—and we met no *un*intelligent Hunza child.

286 Anyone desirous of doing so can acquire a weaver's skill, and in our village of some 200 families there were seven or eight expert weavers. The loom-pit is a hole in the ground, 2 feet wide and deep and 2 feet 4 inches from back to front, with a stone bench at the back. Two horizontal poles balanced on stones a couple of feet above the ground at either side carry the heddles, etc. Here the weaver sets up his home-made loom of ingeniously simple construction worked by four treadles in the bottom of his pit. While he works, the owners of the wool sit by and wind his bobbins. A skilful weaver can make the nine yards of narrow homespun required for a man's cloak in a day and a half. The loom-pit occupies fully half the width of the 'street' and when being used forms the centre of a shifting group of cheerfully gossiping passers-by.

Goat's hair is woven on an even simpler upright frame, a forked piece of tree supplying the single shed required.

322 Turning is a rarer accomplishment than weaving, and our village boasted only one lathe-master. Like the loom the lathe is set up in a pit. The person desiring a bowl supplies the necessary rough-hewn block of wood (apricot or vine root preferred) and the motive power required to turn the horizontal bar, on to one end of which the wood is spiked. The turner crouches alongside with a selection of small curved chisels which he rests on an adjustable tripod to steady his hand (PLATE IV).

415 There is no room to tell of all the simple yet ingenious household utensils which the Hunzukuts conjure from the scanty resources
411 at their disposal: the spliced wooden bow faced with plates of ibex
322 horn and beautifully curved; the boys' catapult bow with double string of horse sinew, for scaring birds; the double-chambered wool-container made of rowan bark; the small vessel like an ash-tray which steadies the woman's rotating spindle and is moulded from the refuse of the apricot kernels left after the oil has been expressed. Not a
372 shred of anything is wasted in Hunza. What cannot be eaten or turned
132 to use—even the shell of the apricot kernel—is gratefully seized on as fuel for the pitifully small fire that cooks the bread and vegetables. Fires for mere heating are an undreamt of luxury. Hence the draught-proof house is essential, for at 7–8,000 feet, with snow mountains all round and a temperature of 19° Fahrenheit, the 'Great Cold' is

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 21

HUNZA CRAFTS

ONE of the most refreshing things about Hunza is the absence of machinery. Every essential tool and utensil can be made and mended at home, and every individual enjoys the self-respect that comes from the exercise of necessary craftsmanship. The picturesquely asymmetrical stone cooking-pots, oil-jars, and crusie-lamps have each been fashioned by father or grandfather, or it may be great-grandfather. Each has its own individuality and its own history. The ladles and wooden spoons of delightful and often fantastic shape have been cut out from suitable branched bough or root—handle and bowl in one piece, no two alike. Your own carefully planted and tended willows supply the flexible withies for a dozen kinds of basket, and the man or woman who could not construct the one required would be hard to find. Reels and spindles for spinning, bobbins and shuttles for weaving, wooden hoes and shovels, two-prong forks cut in one piece from the tree or the graceful five-pronged winnowing forks with neat and skilful lashings of gut holding their curved teeth in place, the plough, the frame and heddles of the loom, the treadles and framework of the lathe that turns the wooden bowl, are all home-made. You cure the skins of your own beasts for sacks and bags and boots. When the women want more wool for spinning, any man at any moment will shear another sheep while the women and children hold its legs.

The only work that the home cannot itself tackle is the ironwork—a very recent substitute for stone and bone and horn. An occasional iron pick or shovel, fork or crowbar is brought up "from below" (India or Kashmir) by a returning

● 402 *ʈhaʈakʊs*, pl. *-kʊšo* x a piece of wood suspended so that with one end resting on the revolving upper millstone it leans against the tray into which the grain falls from the hopper. The vibration produced by the millstone is communicated by it to the tray and causes the grain to flow slowly through into the hole in the revolving millstone.

000 *tʌtˈʌɣər* v. *dʌtˈʌɣər*.

tʌtˈapʌl, *tʌtˈapər* Hz. & N., *-ršo* x bat (animal). — *tʌtˈapʌl juˑˈʌn hilˈɛsʌn bai.i* he is a thin, weak (*lit.* bat-like) youth. QUB. (Cp. Sh. *tʌltaˑpʌn*, bat).

ʈhaʈaqʌs, pl. *ʈhaʈaqʌšo*, x a kind of bird, redstart(?).

524 *tˈʌtʌq mʌnaˑs* to play a game resembling draughts with small stones on a diagram scratched on the ground. It is much played by children, but, though gambling is not much practised in Hunza, it can no doubt be played for money and the meaning I was originally given was "to gamble". — *tˈʌtʌq mai.ibaˑn* they are gambling. *tˈʌtʌq mʌnaˑs sis* a gambler.

000 *ʈʌfˈʌr*, N. *tætˈʌr -ršo*, x tailless rat, which is found up in the summer grazing-grounds.

ʈˈʌʈʌs, pl. *ʈˈʌʈašo*, x an article in an unfinished state, e.g. a roughly forged metal article, a garment cut out and basted, a roughly fashioned wooden article, e.g. a block of wood roughly shaped with an adze to be made into a bowl on the lathe. — *ikərəˑŋe ivɛs čʌma tʌtʌs dimʌnimi* the rough form of the brooch came into existence of itself. 166.2,5. Cp. 166.9,19,22.

One can also say: — *mʌlɛ ʈˈʌʈʌs*,